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See below

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7 July 1980

MEMORANDUM

US OPTIONS TOWARD SHAH'S FUNERAL

If the Shah dies in Egypt while the hostages are still incarcerated in Iran, the US will face a difficult policy decision. This paper addresses the pros and cons of official US representation at the Shah's funeral and of offering the Empress Farah asylum in the US after the Shah's passing.

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The Case For Representation

The case for sending official US representatives rests on both strategic and moral grounds:

- The Shah for more than 25 years was a friend of the US. Common decency requires that we send someone to his funeral.
- We must reassure our allies of US resolve. Our allies, especially President Sadat and the Saudi royal family, would view a lack of US representation as one more sign of weakness and failure to support old friends. They would argue that the unwillingness of the US to attend his funeral represents "knuckling under" to Khomeini.
- Attending the funeral would send a signal to Iran that the US is not prepared to give in to pressure. Not attending could show weakness and encourage Iran to continue to hold on to the hostages.

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--US relations with Iran are beyond repair. As long as Khomeini is in power the hostages will not be released. Attending the funeral would not significantly change the situation.

The Case Against Representation

The case against sending official representatives rests on the following arguments:

--The Shah's death will provide an opportunity to improve US-Iranian relations by demonstrating that our relationship with the Pahlavi dynasty is at an end. By refusing to attend his funeral, we would show the Iranians that we have no interest in reimposing the monarchy and that the rationale for their seizure of the Embassy is gone.

--Attending the funeral would strengthen the hardliners in Iran, possibly prolonging the hostages' ordeal. The hardliners could argue that US attendance illustrates the continuing US desire to intervene in Iran's internal affairs on the side of the forces of satan.

--US allies in the Near East are already deeply disillusioned with our policy in the region--attending the funeral would not significantly reverse this impression.

Alternative Policy Options

The higher the level of US official representation at the funeral, the more outraged the Iranians will act. Nonetheless, we believe the key issue is not who should represent the US but whether we go at all. The impact will be fundamentally the same whether the US is represented by Vice President Mondale or Ambassador Atherton. [REDACTED]

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There is no precedent for the situation confronting the US--the death of a deposed and exiled ally occurring while fifty-three US citizens are being held hostage in his native country. We attach, however, a list of related situations.

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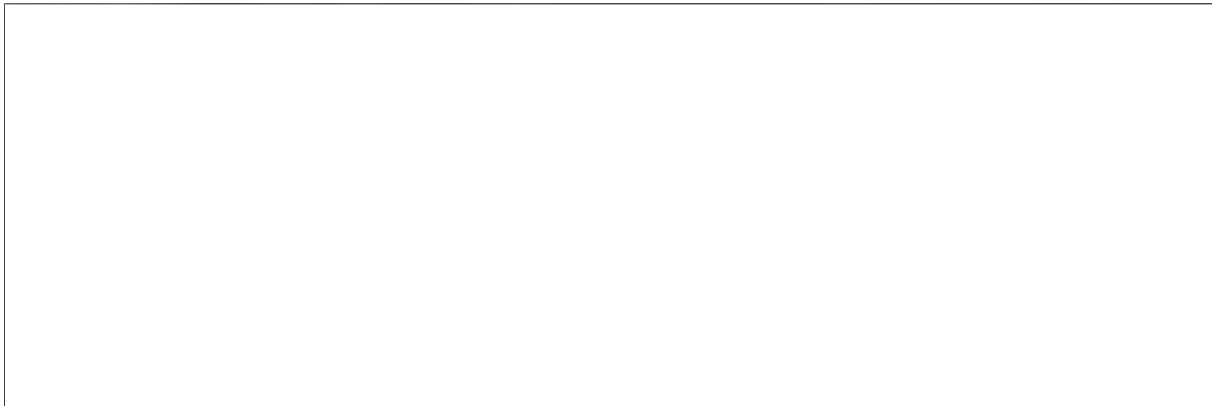
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Precedents

- Egypt --King Farouk died 18 March 1965 in Rome. Dethroned in 1952; left country in July 1952. No US reaction.
- Cuba --Fulgencio Batista. Dictator fled Cuba in 1959 into exile. Died 6 August 1973 in Spain. No indication that US officially or unofficially noted his passing.
- Ethiopia --Emperor Haile Selassie. Imprisoned on palace grounds after military coup in September 1974. Died 7 August 1975. US released statement "deepest regret that we have learned of the death ..." on 27 August 1975.
- Iran --Reza Pahlavi Khan. Abdicated throne in 1941 and went into exile in Johannesburg, South Africa. Died 26 July 1944. No US reaction.
- Korea --Syngman Rhee forced into exile in 1960. Lived as a guest of the US in Hawaii; died 19 July 1965 in Honolulu. State Department "paid tribute"; no Presidential statement. Funeral held in Korea on 27 July. US Ambassador Brown was official US representative at funeral.
- Indonesia - Akmed Sukarno lived in retirement under virtual house arrest in country after being ousted. Died 21 June 1970. No US attendees; no statement by President Nixon.

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SUBJECT: US Options Toward Shah's Funeral

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